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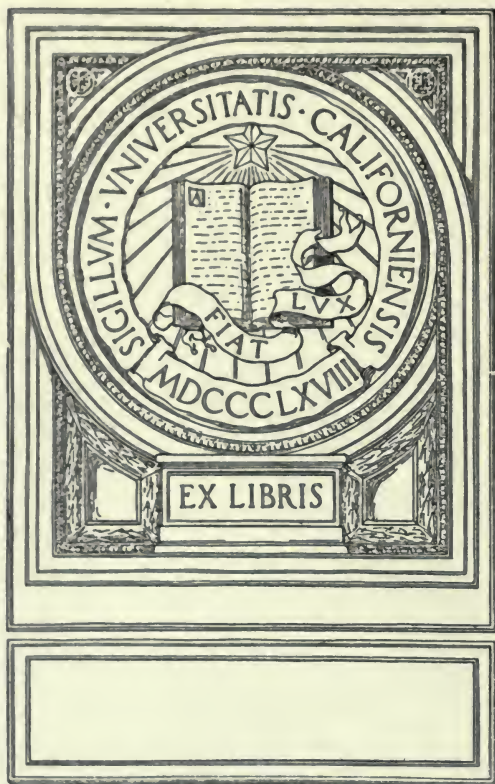
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*Wm. Nugent*  
*Brown*  
**TRACT**

ENTITLED

TRUE AND FAITHFUL

**Relation of a Worthy Discourse,**

BETWEEN

COLONEL JOHN HAMPDEN

AND

COLONEL OLIVER CROMWELL.

PRECEDED BY AN

EXPLANATORY PREFACE.



LONDON:  
CHAPMAN AND HALL, 186, STRAND.  
1847.

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## P R E F A C E.

THE annexed Tract purports to be written by the Reverend Dr. Spurstowe. From the date assigned it appears as though the conversation had taken place but a week before Hampden received his death-wound on Chalgrave Field, and a short time after the promotion of Cromwell from the rank of Captain to that of Colonel commanding a Regiment of Horse in the Army of Lord Fairfax. About this time, as we are told by the Diurnals, by Ludlow, Clarendon, Whitelocke, and most of the other contemporary Annalists and Historians of that Civil War, great discontents had arisen in the Parliament and in

the Army against the dilatory proceedings of the Earl of Essex, who was in chief command as Generalissimo of the Forces of the Parliament, and directed in person the operations in the Midland Counties. And much discourse there was, even in the Grand Committee at Westminster, of a project for placing Hampden at the head of the Army employed to cover the approaches to London, and watch the movements of the King, whose head quarters were then at Oxford, and who held the greater part of the country from thence to the West, where Lord Goring commanded for him against Sir William Waller.

In consequence of the better discipline of the King's Troops in the field, and the many reverses which had, of late, been suffered by the Parliament's Army, the subject of a "New Model" was also in discussion among some of its prin-

cial leaders. This had been strongly urged by both Cromwell and Hampden, even as early as the beginning of the Campaign of 1643, and was, soon after the death of Hampden, carried into effect by Cromwell.

It will be observed that reference is made in the following discourse to another which, it seems, had been held between them some time before, wherein Cromwell had spoken to Hampden of the necessity of introducing better materials and a higher spirit among the regiments. To this Cromwell himself referred, many years after, in the published conference between him and the Parliamentary Committee at Whitehall on the subject of a regal form of government.—See *Somers's Tracts*, vol. vi. p. 368.

The date assigned to Hampden's death in the first page of the following Tract is at variance with that which is given by some writers, who



describe it as having taken place six weeks after he received his wound at Chalgrave; and also with Clarendon's account, which gives the impression that he survived his wound for nearly three weeks. The Chalgrave fight, as we know from the evidence of all history and of the diurnals of the time, was on the 18th of June. That Hampden survived it for six weeks, or for much more than as many days, is sufficiently disproved by evidence in itself undeniable. Observations are made in "The Kingdom's Weekly Intelligencer," ending the 4th of July, and published by authority in London, on the loss which the country had incurred in his death. The *Mercurius Aulicus* of June 24, published at Oxford, mentions the report of his death; and the date of his funeral, as given in this Tract, (the 25th of June), is corroborated by the entry in the Register of Great Hampden Parish.

Dr. Spurstowe appears, from the Register of Great Hampden, to have been Rector of that Parish in 1636. Strenuous was he, and indefatigable, (we avoid the ambiguous word “untiring” as perhaps not predicable in both its senses of him as a polemical writer,) in defence of his opinions on Ecclesiastical Discipline. He was, in 1641, one of the contributors to the book called *Smectymnuus*, a Tract on the subject of Episcopacy in the Government of the Church, which gave rise to much controversy. The title of it was chosen as containing the initial letters of the names of its authors, Stephen Marshall, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen, and William Spurstowe. See a Tract entitled “Groanes for Liberty, with a Parallel betweene the Prelacy and Presbytery,” by John Saltmarsh, 1646.

On the execution of the Parliament’s ordinance

for levying troops, Dr. Spurstowe was appointed Chaplain to John Hampden's Regiment of Foot, called the "Green Coats." His name is found, many years after, among the most distinguished of the controversialists of that period, and as one of the friends of the "old cause" who opposed the arbitrary measures of the Cromwells during the Protectorate, and of Charles II. after the Restoration. He published a tract called "Wells of Salvation," in 1655, and "The Spiritual Chymist," in 1666; during which interval he was deprived of the Headship of Katherine Hall, and of the living of Hackney, as one of the Nonconformist Ministers who were ejected in consequence of the opinions they had maintained in the Conference at the Savoy, 1662.—See *Baxter's Narrative of his Life and Times*, *Neal's History of the Puritans*, and *Calamy's Abridgement*.



Relationn of a Discourse betwene Colo-  
nell *Hampden* and Colonell  
*Oliuer Cromwel.*

*Nota. In this discourse his (afterwarde) Highnesse seemeth to speake with more reluctancye of all desyre to treat with his Ma.<sup>tie</sup> for accomodationn thann in later time he shewed, when y<sup>e</sup> jealousies had arisen betwene y<sup>e</sup> Army and Parliament, in y<sup>e</sup> yeare 1647. But God knoweth he was thenn forelye tried with dissimulationn onn all sydes. Soe he took upp that weaponn alsoe, awhyle, and not sparinglye; and preuayled therewith; as in dede he had at all other armes, agaynst those in conflict with him.*

W. S.





True and faythfull Relationn of a  
*Worthye Discourse,*

held, *June* y<sup>e</sup> eleauenth, in y<sup>e</sup> Yeare of Grace 1643,

betwene y<sup>e</sup> late Colonell *HAMPDEN*,

*Knighte* of y<sup>e</sup> *Shire* for y<sup>e</sup> Countye of *Buckingham*,

in y<sup>e</sup> presente *Parliament*, and Colonell

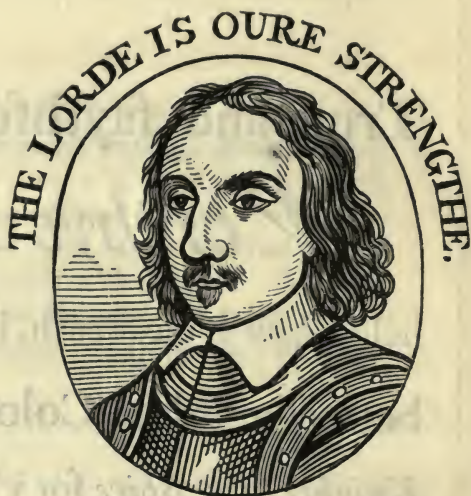
*OLIVER CROMWEL*, *Burgesse*

for y<sup>e</sup> Towne of *Cambridge*,

in y<sup>e</sup> fame.



*Colonell John Hampden.*



*Colonell Oliuer Cromwel.*



*True and faythfull Relationn of a worthe dif-  
course, helde, June y<sup>e</sup> eleauenth, in y<sup>e</sup> yeare  
of Grace 1643, betwene y<sup>e</sup> late Colonell  
HAMPDEN, Knighte of y<sup>e</sup> Shire for y<sup>e</sup>  
Countye of Buckingham, in y<sup>e</sup> p'sente Par-  
liament, and Colonell OLIUER CROM-  
WEL, Burgesse in y<sup>e</sup> same for y<sup>e</sup> Towne of  
Cambridge.*



*On y<sup>e</sup> twentye fifth daye of June,  
1643, I, William Spurstowe, Min-  
ister of y<sup>e</sup> Worde, followed to y<sup>e</sup>  
Graue my moſte reuered friend  
and benefactor, Maſter John Hampden, who  
departed this life on y<sup>e</sup> 23<sup>d</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> ſayd moneth;  
Lorde of y<sup>e</sup> mannour of his name, and Colo-  
nell of foot in y<sup>e</sup> Armie of y<sup>e</sup> Earle of Effex,  
His*



## *True and faythfull Relationn*

His Excellencie, Lorde Generall of the Parliamēt's forces, and commanding in these partes. The Bodye was receaued at y<sup>e</sup> Church by Maſter *Robert Lenthal*, Miniſter of y<sup>e</sup> Parrish of *Great Hampden*, and followed by noe ſmall companye of Souldiers, Countrey Folke, and Gentrye; y<sup>e</sup> palle being borne of ſix; viz: Colonell *Arthur Goodwyn*, Mr. *Richard Greenvil*, (Sherriffe for y<sup>e</sup> Countye,) Mr. *Tyrrell*, Mr. *West*, and Dr. *Giles*, (Miniſter of *Chinnor*,) and myſelfe; y<sup>e</sup> two laſt named hauing bin with y<sup>e</sup> deceaſed Colonell at *Thame*, in *Oxonſhire*, during y<sup>e</sup> dayes in which he languiſhed of his hurte receaued in y<sup>e</sup> fight near *Chalgraue*, and at his death. “*Quis deſiderio fit Pudor aut Modus.*” It is well ſayd, in y<sup>e</sup> *Kingdome's Weeklye Intelligencer* of y<sup>e</sup> weeke laſt paſt, ending y<sup>e</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> of y<sup>s</sup> *Julye*, “The loſſe of Colonell *Hampden* goeth neare y<sup>e</sup> harte of euerie man that loues y<sup>e</sup> good of his *King* and Countrey, and makes ſome conceaue little content to be in y<sup>e</sup> armie, now that he is gone. . . . . The  
memorye

memorye of this deceased Colonell is such that in noe age to come but it will more and more be had in honour and esteeme. A man soe religious, and of that prudence, judgement, temper, valoure, and integritie, that he hath left fewe his like behinde him." Nor, in y<sup>e</sup> heauineffe of this soe sadd a losse, can my harte finde greater solace, (after y<sup>e</sup> inward conscioufnesse that this good Champion of *God's* Truth and y<sup>e</sup> nationn's Libertyes nowe resteth frō his labours in y<sup>e</sup> Mercye and fauour of *Him* whose painefull seruante he was,) than in y<sup>e</sup> calling back, as it were, to life and companionnshipp those sweet and godlye wordes of his, to soe manie of which, in y<sup>e</sup> priuate conuerse whereto he condescended with me, my remembrance may faythfullye beare witnesse. "Is verus honos, ea conjunctissimi cujusque pietas." And I haue done this for y<sup>e</sup> better refreshing thereof, and that my children may beare in minde some passages of this soe worthy gentleman's discourse, euen in y<sup>e</sup> forme and fashionn as they fell frō him ;

My motiues in  
y<sup>e</sup> doing here-  
of.



## *True and faythfull Relationn*

him; and, peradventure, (after y<sup>e</sup> presente troubles of y<sup>s</sup> lande may, thrō *God* his mercie, haue bin healed, and y<sup>e</sup> seale of priuitie under which these things were spoken shall, by y<sup>e</sup> cancelling acte of Time, be worne awaye,) they may make y<sup>e</sup> same more fullye known, for y<sup>e</sup> illustracionn of him who did honnour their father by admissiōn unto it.

It was on a fayre euening of y<sup>e</sup> eleauenth of y<sup>e</sup> moneth of *June* last passed, it beeing y<sup>e</sup> *Lorde's Daye*, and well nighe y<sup>e</sup> sunn setting, that Master *Hampden*, (hauing, on that morning, ridden with me frō his quarters at *Watlington* to his own house, not more than some twelue miles distant, and hauing there encountered, by concerte and appointment, as it seemed, with his two Kinsmen, Master *Knightelye* of *Northtonshire*, and Colonell *Oliuer Cromwel*, freshe come frō y<sup>e</sup> cuntrye helde by y<sup>e</sup> *Fairfaxes*, neare *Yorke*, to sojourn for a space with Master *Russel* at his house of *Checkers* harde by,)

for y<sup>e</sup> firste  
time meeting,  
since y<sup>e</sup> *Lorde*  
was pleased to  
remoue to her  
rewarde that  
moſte excel-  
lent & Vertu-  
ous Ladye,  
Mistresse  
*Knightelye*, y<sup>e</sup>  
dearlye and  
deeplye be-

by,) walked forth, with Master *Cromwel*, thrō  
y<sup>e</sup> woodes out upon y<sup>e</sup> hill of *Greene Haley*,  
which lieth by y<sup>e</sup> roade into *Oxōnsbire*. Thither  
y<sup>e</sup> Dragoonier in chardge of their horses had bin  
appoynted to followe, when y<sup>e</sup> houre should  
come for y<sup>e</sup> departure of these Colonells to  
theire feuerall commands. And I, knowing  
that, in y<sup>e</sup> stresse of manie houres conference  
before held in y<sup>e</sup> upper Librarye, all dining had  
bin cleane forgotten, or for y<sup>e</sup> most parte præ-  
termitted by them, and judgeing that to those  
with whom an euentide journey was like to be  
but a hungrye conclusiōn of y<sup>e</sup> daye's fast some  
small refectionn might not come amisse, thought  
it fitting to carrye somewhat in that sorte unto  
y<sup>e</sup> Colonells there. Seeing them still, as it  
seemed unto me, engaged in earnest and weightye  
converse, I stood awhile aparte; and soe re-  
mayned; untill Master *Cromwel*, espying me,  
broke off; and, running towarde me, merrilye,  
with a "Hey now, Master Preefe, truste me,  
thou hast somewhat in thy fist more seasonable  
than

loued Daugh-  
ter of Master  
*Hampden*.



Gamesome  
carriage of  
Master *Crom-*  
*wel*.

than Psalme or Sermonn;" plucked me down  
uponn y<sup>e</sup> graffe; and, casting himselfe by me,  
called uponn his cosen *Hampden* to doe y<sup>e</sup>  
like, and sit there with him, "not unthank-  
fullye," sayd he, "at y<sup>e</sup> table which this chosen  
*Leuite* of y<sup>e</sup> house of *Israel* hath spread in y<sup>e</sup>  
Deserte of y<sup>e</sup> Wandering, euen in the Wilder-  
nesse of y<sup>e</sup> hill countrie." Then, after a short  
and perfunctorye meale, not without a louing-  
cupp, pledged by Colonell *Cromwel*, (whose  
gamesome carriage I, not hauing, before, bin in  
his companye, and knowing him onelie by re-  
porte as a graue and stedfaste labourer in y<sup>e</sup>  
good cause, did deeme not a little noteable and  
strange,) these gentlemenn pursued their dis-  
course; which I, (being by them courteouslye  
admitted to be a silent witnesse thereof,) did,  
while y<sup>e</sup> memorie was yett freshe, for surer re-  
tentionn, sett downe in writing. It was, in  
forme, and verie nearelye in y<sup>e</sup> wordes, as fol-  
loweth.

" And



Colonell  
*Hampden*  
speaketh.

“ And now,” sayd Maſter *Hampden*, “marke me well, deare Coſen; (for I would not haue you thinke I ſpake lightlye, or in haſte, erewhile, of a matter that toucheth Us all, and y<sup>e</sup> Great Worke, ſoe nearlye ;) what I made bould to throwe out, a while agoe, for your better judgement, is a thought not newlye ſown within me, but which, in dede, took roote euen at y<sup>e</sup> beginning of laſt Autumn’s Campaign, and hath ſhrewdlye ripened under y<sup>e</sup> ſtreſſe of this Summer’s hott encountering. We entered, Colonell *Cromwel*, on this worke with much and verie weightye thoughte; after long enduring, and not without prayer. And you, and I, and all of Us, onn whom hath fallen y<sup>e</sup> chance to beare a forward parte in y<sup>s</sup> great controuerſie, and to be, under *God*, y<sup>e</sup> mouers of his poore people of y<sup>s</sup> realme therein, ſawe well y<sup>e</sup> ſtreightes into which ill men had runn y<sup>e</sup> veſſell of y<sup>e</sup> publick weale, nigh euen to y<sup>e</sup> foundering; and that our dutyes, owed unto y<sup>e</sup> people’s ſafetye, left Us noe other waye to diſentangle from beſetting  
rockes

## *True and faythfull Relationn*

Prouocatiues  
unto Parlia-  
mentarye re-  
sistance.

Euen unto  
Warr.

rockes and whirlepooles y<sup>e</sup> priuiledges which our fathers and brethren had giuen Us in chardge, but by standing forth into y<sup>e</sup> open Sea; yea euen thō, perchance, y<sup>e</sup> darkeſt ſtormes, and ſufferings, and perills of Ciuill Warr ſhould be before Us. When y<sup>e</sup> *King*, by ſubſidies wreſted wide from y<sup>e</sup> purpoſes for which y<sup>e</sup> *Parliament* had granted them, by contributionns leauied under Priuie Seales, and by loanes and ſuccours frō malignantes, by bargaynes with renegade *Scotts*, truce with y<sup>e</sup> *Iriſhe* Rebels, and inpourings of wilde clubbe men from *Wales*, (dealing with all y<sup>e</sup> elements of miſcheif in three Kingdomes,) nay, (under fauoure maye I add,) countenance and Ayde too frō ſome of a farr better ſorte, Gentrye and men of honnour, who long had ſtood for Libertye in *Parliament*, but who, onn declarationn of Warr, claue to what they beleaued to be y<sup>e</sup> cauſe of y<sup>e</sup> Lorde's Anoynted; when, I ſay, y<sup>e</sup> *King* unhappilye iſſued his Commiſſionn of Araye, (deſenſiueye encountered by our Ordinance to y<sup>e</sup> Affociated Countyes,) we



we saw y<sup>e</sup> whole perill before us. Great meanes, great powers, great appliances; arms, powder, fayre store of moneye, nay Garrisonns, already in opposing handes. We saw all this. But, hauing putt our handes to y<sup>e</sup> ploughe, we looked not back.

Yett one thing hadd we, moſte of Us, ſtil to learne, good Kinfmann. The warrlike ſpirit and high bearing of y<sup>e</sup> Nationn fauoured much y<sup>e</sup> aduerſe partye. I meane not by this y<sup>e</sup> mere craſte of Warr, brought in among Us from y<sup>e</sup> Schooles of *Germany* or *Sweeden*; nor yet y<sup>e</sup> ualour, prudence, or readynesse, which leadeth to aduantage in y<sup>e</sup> felde. But what I meane is thoſe excitements, how unreaſonning ſoeuer, whereby menn in battaglia are greatlye ſtirred. The Spurr, as it were, in y<sup>e</sup> ſides of an hoſte with an Enemye in front; and eſteemed by y<sup>e</sup> mere vulgar in y<sup>e</sup> conſlicte euen as thō they in dede were what had moved y<sup>e</sup> more reflecting ſorte unto y<sup>e</sup> undertaking. Arguments preſented which ſpeake ſoddainelye and winninglye

Dangers and diſaduantage in y<sup>e</sup> ſ<sup>d</sup> Warr, not unforeſeen.

Recounteth aduantages plainelye on y<sup>e</sup> King's ſide.

## *True and faythfull Relationn*

ninglye to y<sup>e</sup> fenſe; y<sup>e</sup> Crowne of *Englande* on a hedge ſtake, and y<sup>e</sup> like; the verie trumpett of y<sup>e</sup> herauld, that ſoundeth in their eares, hung with y<sup>e</sup> Royall Blazonnrye; and y<sup>e</sup> pen-  
 non of y<sup>e</sup> gentleman y<sup>e</sup> ſame under which his anceſtour went to battle at y<sup>e</sup> King's ſide. Nay; worſe than images hauing noe reall import, or than familiar wordes whoſe reall import is abuſed. Vice, and Violence, as well as Vanitye, maskers in y<sup>e</sup> pageaunte; and made to paſs in dreſſes of a faſhionn hardlye leſſe commended. The lemann's fauour, y<sup>e</sup> plunder of y<sup>e</sup> poore, y<sup>e</sup> hotteſt paſſionns, lawleſſe loue and lawleſſe hate, haue high and ſtirring watch-  
 wordes of their owne, wherewith to crye loud-lye and cheerfullye to y<sup>e</sup> Souldier. We haue, on our parte, but graue and ſtubborn memo-rye of rightes inherited, and wronges endured. Nay, wronges, for y<sup>e</sup> moſt parte, nott ſoe much endured as plainelye menaced. Priuiledges ſett at nought by leauies of troopes and of moneye, without conſent of *Parliament*; freedome of ſpeech

Diſaduantages,  
 contrariwyſe,  
 on that of y<sup>e</sup>  
*Parliament.*



speech denyed; and libertye of conscience scared into a secrefye befitting onelie Sinn and Shame; or openlye reuiled and persecuted, if it stande forth in y<sup>e</sup> light and broad path of y<sup>e</sup> open world.

These be things, whereto we, and such as we, cann in noe wyse patientlye conforme ourselues. And these haue moued our hartes to that we knowe to be a righteous reuolte; not agaynst y<sup>e</sup> *King*; but agaynst y<sup>e</sup> tyrannie of his ill aduifers, who would ouerturne y<sup>e</sup> free Monarchie of this lande, and sett upp in its place an arbitrare rule, before unknowne therein. These, I repeate, are graue and weightye motiues, among menn who haue well scanned and pondered themm; but are noe fierye incentiues to y<sup>e</sup> Souldier in y<sup>e</sup> field. Besides, this may be sayd in your hearing, Kinsman and Frende, and in hearing of this worthy Minister, a discrete and silent wittnesse of y<sup>e</sup> priuatest discourse of frendes, (and who well knoweth it, in what himselfe hath seen,) wee lacke those  
infusionns

Hee doth, in dede.

## True and faythfull Relationn

infusionns in our armie, which might giue our verie troopers to underftande they ride in companye, not onelie with honneft menn, but with Gentlemenn alfoe.”

Colonell  
*Cromwel*  
fpeaketh.

Reprehend-  
eth Col:  
*Hampden*, as  
thō fwallowed  
upp of y<sup>e</sup>  
Vanities of  
lineage and  
herauldrye.

Lorde *Brooke*  
did well; in  
noe wyfe gor-  
geouflye  
cladd.

Likeneth my  
Lorde to y<sup>e</sup>  
leanē Kine  
and fcurvyē  
eares of *Pha-  
roab* y<sup>e</sup> King.

Looke for  
helpe onelie in  
righteouf-  
neffe, ualoure,

*Cromwel.* “ Nay, Godamercye, goodman *John*, what maggotts art thou a breeding nowe? Thou fpeakeft here as a verie King at Arms; with thy *Saxon* Pedigree and *Norman* Surcoate; as thō y<sup>e</sup> emptye fcroll were a ftoute leading ftaffe, and y<sup>e</sup> purfled blazonn were harnesse of righte goode fworde proof. Faddle. *Brooke* fought well, and was well followed too, under his fteel gorgett, and coate of Buff; and y<sup>e</sup> bullett frō S<sup>t</sup> *Chadd*’s, I trowe, would not haue turned awaye, albeit his capp of mayntenance hadd bin upon his hedd. Remember, y<sup>e</sup> leane kine of *Pharoab* did deuoure y<sup>e</sup> fleeke and greafie fattlings of y<sup>e</sup> herde, and y<sup>e</sup> ranke eares of Corne did bowe before y<sup>e</sup> thinn and ill-fauoured. Trufte me, if we doe looke for helpe at all, faue onelie in y<sup>e</sup> righteouffneffe of our Cause, and y<sup>e</sup> ualoure of our fide, and y<sup>e</sup> fauinge



fauinge healthe which cometh not of y<sup>e</sup> arm of fleshe, we be sitting but on addled egges, the which, after much adoe, shal come to nought. Pardonn y<sup>e</sup> brewer of *Huntingdon*, if he speake his minde foe bouldlye to y<sup>e</sup> greate Parliament Driuer of *Westminster*, and y<sup>e</sup> Shepherde King of y<sup>e</sup> *Chilterns*."

and y<sup>e</sup> fauing  
healthe frō  
aboue.

*Hampden*. "Nay; gibe not at my poore witt, good *Oliuer*; and spare me, praye, those tweakes and bobbes; the which, indede, enforce not argument; nor yett are answers unto it. If thou wilt fauoure me foe farr as rightlye to recall what I haue striuen to expresse, then shalt thou admitt to me I spake not of y<sup>e</sup> Vanities anie more than of y<sup>e</sup> Vices of those who be in arms agaynst us, as beeing things mete for us to covett, or to copie; nor yett of herauldrye, or y<sup>e</sup> vayne glorye thereof, as being weapon of auayl either to wound or warde. The gallant and true hearted *Brooke*, of whom thou spakest; I will speake of him too. Under his leathern

Colonell  
*Hampden*  
speaketh.

Excuseth  
himselfe, and  
remindeth  
Col. *Cromwel*  
of whatt  
truelye he  
sayd.

Coate

*True and faythfull Relationn*

Coate and iron Jack, (y<sup>e</sup> noblest bearings anie man can shewe when his countrye hath taen y<sup>e</sup> fiede,) he was noe worse, I doe submitt, for that he had some bloude within him that might not blenche euen before y<sup>e</sup> fixteene quarterings of y<sup>e</sup> *Palatine*. But he is gone to y<sup>e</sup> greate rewarde of a blamelesse life and honnourable death. And forelye doe wee misse of him. What I sayd, Cosen, or did intende, is that y<sup>e</sup> pietie, and honnestie, and resolutionn, of y<sup>e</sup> leaders doe euer neede some shorte and readye course, (such indede as *Brooke* had found,) into y<sup>e</sup> spiritts of them that followe; thrō which to runn; warme too as in y<sup>e</sup> hartes of those whose custome of deliberationn doth in noe wyse abate y<sup>e</sup> earnestnesse of their zeale. That we beginn to fayle in authoritie, like what y<sup>e</sup> leaders of y<sup>e</sup> aduerse partye holde, by easyer means, thō artificiall. That, hence, we lacke celeritye, and unionn; and y<sup>e</sup> cause languisheth throughout. My proofes are what, to our greate grieve, you knowe, and see, more clearlye than I, in my  
poore



poore waye, can leade you to confesse. The streame of War runns harde and strong agaynst Us. Defeate uponn defeate; defectionn onn defectionn. I speake not now of y<sup>e</sup> falling off of some, our fellowes in counsell, our familiarr friends, and kinsmenn, *Cromwel*, newlye brought in questionn; how grievous foeuer and presente alway to our hartes. *God* send them a good deliuerance frō that guilt. But I speake here of more generall griefes. For manie moneth's space, *Englande* hath bin filled with bloude. Her townes, naye houses, made garrisonns. The selfe same ground foughten ouer manie times. More sieges than citties; more skirmishes than fields. And yett is that successe, which we had hoped for from a short fierce struggle, as remote as when y<sup>e</sup> *King of Englande's* standard was firste rayfed, and his sworde drawn forth, agaynst her people and her lawes, in *August* last. Nay, more foe; as it appeareth. Well and manfullye did we enter onn our dutyes. Lazielye and mournfullye doe we pursue them. What was

Alacke for y<sup>e</sup>  
back slideings  
of Master *Ed-*  
*mund Waller,*  
and *Alexan-*  
*der Hampden.*

The *Lorde* his  
great mercyes

shewed Uf-  
warde.

Edge Hille.

Ay. and  
handes too.

*Dutch* Gold,  
and rauening  
Armada of  
*Lorrainers*,  
preuented.

was y<sup>e</sup> issue of that Autumn's and Winter's worke? *Warwicke*, *Bromicham*, *Couentrye*, hadd brauelye stode y<sup>e</sup> assault, and rowled it back from their walls upon y<sup>e</sup> enemye in y<sup>e</sup> open Countrye. The Armie Royall, at our first pitched encounter, broke down, like a water-cloude upon Us in *Keynton* Vale. We draue them, agaynst uantage ground, home to their lines agayn; foe mangled, thatt their hoste, which, euen frō *Shrewsburie*, had raced with us for y<sup>e</sup> prize of *London*, was fayne to betake it selfe, by yett more hastie marches, to shelter in y<sup>e</sup> walls of *Oxforde*. *Redding* had fallen to Us. *Hull* was releaued. *Waller* was victorious in y<sup>e</sup> West; and y<sup>e</sup> *Fairfaxes* in y<sup>e</sup> North. *Portsmouth* and *Plymouth* were y<sup>e</sup> eyes of y<sup>e</sup> Comōnwealth toward y<sup>e</sup> Channell; and *Warwicke*, with a mightye fleete upon y<sup>e</sup> Easterne Coaste, staunched y<sup>e</sup> in flowing of *Dutch* Gold, designed to feed y<sup>e</sup> King's battel, and frowned back y<sup>e</sup> Armada of *Lorrainers*, readye whetted for inuasionn. And what now? Our fleete truly doth keepe y<sup>e</sup> Sea; but y<sup>e</sup> armed



armed destructionn cometh uponn Us frō within. Not a line of postes doe we holde but an Enemye is behinde, or breaketh thrō where he listeth, to rauage y<sup>e</sup> cuntrye betwene Us and where y<sup>e</sup> *Parliament* is sitting, among trayned bandes daylie mustering for y<sup>e</sup> alarum to calle them to defende theirre barricadoes. *Redding* is surrendered; and y<sup>e</sup> *King's* troopes houlde y<sup>e</sup> passe betwene Us and y<sup>e</sup> West. There, *Waller* hath muche adoe to keepe y<sup>e</sup> field, euen agaynst drunken *Goring*, and madd *Wilmott*. *Bridge-water* and *Barnstaple* are in their handes; and *Exeter*, *Taunton*, and *Plymouth*, are beleaguered. Lorde *Fairfax* and his gallant Sonn can, as Thou knowest, but poorelye looke on at fantasticke *Newcastle*, and y<sup>e</sup> Gentrye of y<sup>e</sup> North; who are in strength, euen to y<sup>e</sup> gates of *Newarke*. The *Scotts* are motionlesse. With small care for our concernementes, or for y<sup>e</sup> aduancemente or maintainance of ciuill Libertye within this realme; nay more, (I speake my priuatest thoughtes,) contrariwyse, disaffected both to  
our

We are chafened nowe; in loue, as our truste is.

Questionneth y<sup>e</sup> trusteworthynesse of y<sup>e</sup> *Scotts*.

## True and faythfull Relationn

our Cause and Us. Exemptionn frō the impositionns of *Laud's* Service booke, and integritie of Religious Gouvernance for their Nationn, (as in y<sup>e</sup> *Bishopp's* Warr, foe now,) is all wherein they doe beare sympathye with Us. They tender Us their ayde, ay, and will giue it, all y<sup>e</sup> more freelye in proportionn as we doe neede it lesse. They play for Time, with y<sup>e</sup> termes of their Couenante, and haggle for a subsidie, as their price for mouing towarde Us. Wherefore? Because of our slownesse, and their misgiuings of y<sup>e</sup> issue. Here, among these small and scattered postes, but little more than a daye's march frō *London*, we haue scantlye powers enow, or foe handled, as to stopp y<sup>e</sup> Prince *Palatine* and his troopers; much lesse to punnish their nightlye maraudings in y<sup>e</sup> cuntrye we houlde. And, euerie where, y<sup>e</sup> ruine of our Cause is all y<sup>e</sup> more in hazarde, since y<sup>e</sup> publique apprehensionn doth augure little lesse.

We lacke energye, *Cromwel*. We lacke, therefore, y<sup>e</sup> truste both of y<sup>e</sup> Souldiers and y<sup>e</sup> people.

We

Slowe we are  
in dede; and  
in harte too;  
y<sup>e</sup> *Lorde*  
quicken oure  
heauinesse.



We must take y<sup>e</sup> house to peeces, with good cautionn, but noe delaye; and reuilde it quite; thō using, for y<sup>e</sup> moste parte, y<sup>e</sup> old materialls, or of y<sup>e</sup> selfe same quarrie; but onn a modell worthyer both of them and of y<sup>e</sup> worke in hande.

You doe not well, good *Oliuer*, to twitte me with my notionn of pouring in a loftier spirit, and more wholesome elementes, to y<sup>e</sup> compositionn and conduct of our Armie. For fewe things are there that thou sayest, Kinsmann, which escape good note from him who knoweth how profitable they be to retayne. Thou, first, did'st putt me onn this waye of thinking. I doe remember well, euen before this daye, how you spake of our regimentes, as made upp, sayd you, for y<sup>e</sup> moste parte, of olde decayed seruing menn and tapsters, and such kinde of fellowes; while their's are of gentlemenn's younger sonns, and personns of qualitee; adding that we must haue menn of a spiritt likelie to goe onn as farr as gentlemenn will goe; or else be beaten still. I told you then, Cosen, I thought  
you

Y<sup>e</sup> house to  
be taken to  
peeces, with  
good heede,

and reuilded.

Soe indede it  
appeareth; as  
His Highnesse  
did after-  
warde confesse  
in y<sup>e</sup> conference  
holden  
at Whitehall,  
in April,  
1657; and as  
published by  
authoritie.

## *True and faythfull Relationn*

you spake a good notionn; but impracticable. It may be I spake not all my thoughtes in this. Meethinkes I see a Remedye, thō not easie to be entered onn without more authoritie than perchance anie one or two, of whateuer credit, might bring to ripenesse; inasmuch as it requi-  
reth a generall consente of all.”

Colonell  
*Cromwel*  
speaketh.

Noe putting  
off. Noe re-  
mora.

Marke this.

*Cromwel.* “If I doe spy thy meaning, nowe, I warrante thee my notionns jumpe with it Truelye somewhat in this sorte haue I desyred, as verie needfull. And, furthermore, frende, am I in agreement with thee that it cannot fitlye brooke delaye. Soone done, best done, was euer a good saying. As touching y<sup>e</sup> gentillitie, we will not dispute. Of y<sup>e</sup> spiritt I haue much to speake. And hugelye pertinent unto y<sup>e</sup> matter now in hande. The newe modell, I grant, presseth. Ay and more. Fitter handes are a wanting. Fitter to guide. And noe where more thann here. I speake not now of y<sup>e</sup> *Fair-faxes*. Noe; nor yett of *Manchester*; nor of our  
goode



goode *Waller*; noe, nor of *Skippon*. The *Lorde* knoweth I doe not. I knowe not of a furetye that I speake of anie particular mann. Thō I haue, sometimes, hadd my thoughtes of this one, and of that. The *Lorde* shall declare, in his good time, who are y<sup>e</sup> chosen vessells for his glorie, and his people's comfote. But there are better and worse to leade herein. Stronger, and weaker. *God* shall judge. But, truelye, y<sup>e</sup> Counsell of Warr are godlie menn; and not without theire discontentes, as I am tolde. Now, euen here; in this mid pathe, as thou sayest, betwene y<sup>e</sup> *King* and *London*; All menn knowe that thy voice, Cosen, hath bin euer for a better ordering, and a liuelier profecutionn of y<sup>e</sup> Warr thann it hath pleased y<sup>e</sup> *Lorde* to commende to y<sup>e</sup> hartes and understandings of some, peraduenture, who are in higher places thann thou art, *Jack*. I speake it to noe man's prejudice or dispraye; *God* wott. But as y<sup>e</sup> Counsell at *Westminster*, nay and y<sup>e</sup> Armie too, speake of thee, *Jack Hampden*, and of some others, known to them

Noe truelye;  
but of another,  
I trowe; in  
higher  
chardge, and  
nigher, thenn,  
unto them.

## *True and faythfull Relationn*

them and thee, but helde in lesse esteeme,”— (and heere Colonell *Cromwel*, drawing his cofen to him, did addresse a fewe wordes, whisperingelye, not meant for me to catch; nor, in dede, would I haue sought to doe foe; seeing they were not for me. Nor what they were doe I knowe; thō I haue my thoughte. This, how-soeuer, I knowe; that Colonell *Hampden* turned him hastilye awaye, and thus resumed.)

Colonell  
*Hampden*  
speaketh.

*Hampden*. “Cofen, your good opinionn of me, and thatt of others, is one of manie benefitts, for the which, thō not unthankfull, I muste remayn an unprofitable debtore. I render, in dede, moste hartye thanks to that good fortune which hath giuen to me y<sup>e</sup> loue of those to whom I cann render noe further returne, saue what is riche in affectionn, butt poore in meanes of seruice. This debt it is to my profitt, in dede, to acknowledg; since y<sup>e</sup> acknowledgment thereof is, itselfe, a plea for y<sup>e</sup> encrease of my generall credit. But, I praye you, forbear to  
wander

Craue to be  
excused frō  
giuing care to  
y<sup>e</sup> sayd last  
infusionns of



wander frō the matter whereto I would listen more readylye than to anie other; as touching y<sup>e</sup> newe modell and discipline and spiritt of our armie; the which, leauing other things to those chardged with themm, cannot but be gaynfulle for one to be possessed of who hath y<sup>e</sup> conduct of a regimente in y<sup>e</sup> field.”

Colonell  
*Cromwel*;  
and returneth  
to y<sup>e</sup> matter  
of y<sup>e</sup> newe  
modell.

*Cromwel.* “Thou hast verilie a waye with thee, *Jack Hampden*, which others, (I saye it to thy face,) doe alsoe note in thee, of putting a mann off from y<sup>e</sup> verie nerue and quicke which hee moſte willinglye would touch; when it fitteth not thy humoure to entertayne y<sup>e</sup> fame; pinning him downe, as it were to y<sup>e</sup> *quod libet* of thy choyce. Well. The *Lorde* judge betwene thee and me, *Jack*. I doe but followe as thou leadeſt; and, therefore, leauing y<sup>e</sup> matter of a better ordering and appoyntment in high places, (on which, in dede, I would fayne haue poſſeſſed thee of ſome fanſyes of mine owne,) to ſpeake of y<sup>e</sup> ſpiritt, which, had I my will, I  
would

Colonell  
*Cromwel*  
ſpeaketh.

*True and faythfull Relationn*

What spiritt to  
fill y<sup>e</sup> mindes  
of y<sup>e</sup> souldiers  
withall.

y<sup>e</sup> *Lorde*, and  
his strengthe.

would fill y<sup>e</sup> mindes of y<sup>e</sup> souldiers withall; and  
wherewith, as I conceaue, we must make head  
agaynst y<sup>e</sup> rowfing clamoures of y<sup>e</sup> Cavaleeres.  
I wolde haue a righte infusioonn of y<sup>e</sup> watch-  
worde of y<sup>e</sup> *Lorde*, and his strengthe, good  
Cofen. It sufficeth not that ye seeke y<sup>e</sup> *Lorde*  
in the clofett onelie, or y<sup>e</sup> tente. Ye muste rayse  
your voyce among his scattered flocke, and  
speake aloud; yea euen as a gospeller and  
chosen vessell of his grace. Why, thinke ye  
that those, my obedient Lambes in y<sup>e</sup> *Lorde*  
and firstlings of his flocke, Ironsides, as by  
some men, pleasantye, they are called, (and  
truelye they be, after theire ministrie, of noe  
unprofitable leauen,) thinke ye there is one of  
them who, when he layeth hande to hilde, bleat-  
eth not his texte or psalme, or, when he blow-  
eth y<sup>e</sup> match of his carbine, bloweth it not with  
y<sup>e</sup> breth of comforte, which is of holynesse, that  
cometh in good seasonn on y<sup>e</sup> drye places of  
*Israel*? There is not one that filleth saddle  
with me, but, in y<sup>e</sup> tabernacle of y<sup>e</sup> fleshe, how  
ill



ill fauoured foeuer, is, according to his estimationn, uerilie of y<sup>e</sup> Saintes of y<sup>e</sup> earthe, whose garmentes smelle of y<sup>e</sup> sweete fauoure of godlyenesse. And I haue cried out to them, euen unto theire penetralls, as I haue receaued strengthe; and they haue not fallen back, but haue chardged home. Be the Glory His and noe other's. The sworde of y<sup>e</sup> *Lorde*, and of *Gideon*, is your onelie weaponn of endurance agaynst y<sup>e</sup> Childrene of darknesse, yea y<sup>e</sup> fierce dint of *Rupert's* troopers, with theyr closed uifors and corselettes of *Almayne* prooffe.

But some small swordecraft alfoe, in y<sup>e</sup> use thereof, hath bin infused. I saye it thankfullye. *Hoffer mann* y<sup>e</sup> *Leipsigger*, late slayne, with me, before *Gainsbro'*, had greate worshipp as teacher of y<sup>e</sup> sworde-playe.

What thinkeye now, mann? This, I warrante ye. If I spake altogether thus in y<sup>e</sup> publique eare, as now in thine, *Jack Hampden*, and in that of this painefull preacher here, belike I might be held, thō unjustlye, to my prejudice, to be  
but

y<sup>e</sup> sworde of  
y<sup>e</sup> *Lorde* and  
of *Gideon*.

"Painefull  
preacher."  
And truely,  
as is my hope.  
So may I not  
be puffed upp  
of y<sup>e</sup> fame.



*True and faythfull Relationn*

but as one that carryeth his godlyneffe into y<sup>e</sup> markett of worldlye policie and profitt."

Colonell  
*Hampden*  
ſpeaketh.

*Hampden.* "In ſooth, Kinſmann, ſuch might, perchance, be y<sup>e</sup> concluſionn drawn therefromm by ſome menn; and, meethinkes, not whollye without ſome colour of likelyhood. Thine endes be honeſte, I doe beleaue, *Oliuer*; but thy wordes, be affured, doe thee much wrong. Thou haſt bin euer a faythfull partner, nay more, in manie thinges a truſtye Counſellour, to thoſe who haue walked, ſide by ſide with thee, along a toylſome pathe; and noe peruerter of y<sup>e</sup> honeſt Truth which we haue ſtriuē, thus farr, to followe. Nor wilt thou euer, it is my hope, doe ſuch diſhonnoure to thyſelfe and it, (as ſome, euen in Counſell on our ſide with us, haue bin, unhappilye, much giuen to doe;) making publique ſhewe of more than hath warrantye in conſcience or y<sup>e</sup> undisguiſed current of familiarr diſcourſe. For, ſoe, wouldeſt thou be, manifeſtlye to thyſelfe, at oddes with y<sup>e</sup>

true

Reaſoneth of  
y<sup>e</sup> making of  
faſe ſhewes.

true and sincere seruice thou hast bin called to fulfill. And, sometimes, doe I feare it euen of thee; if euer y<sup>e</sup> bloude and slyme of these sadd dayes should caste upp a noysome broode, in various shapes, to vex and sting thee, and thou should'st be in high estate of truste, (where-to, if these troubles shall continue, and *God* spare thee, indede thou shalt be, *Cromwel*,) thou mayest be led, euen thou, (pardon me, for I would fayne hope better,) to cloke thyselfe, awhyle, unworthyelie. Beware of that. Albeit thou mightest see therein, perchance, a waye to gayn aduantage ouer base and fraudfull mindes, euen at the uerie weaponns they shall haue forged to ruine thee; and, thus, (thō not with y<sup>e</sup> “dammees” and “*God's* Curse” of y<sup>e</sup> *Cavaleeres*, nor with the covert designes of another sorte of menn I coulde name, wolues in sheepe's clothinge, yett after another fashionn,) take His name in vayne. Such were a Crafte, unworthy of y<sup>e</sup> Cause and Thee. Soe would it turne y<sup>e</sup> harte of manie a worthy man agaynst thee,

and cloeking  
of fayre de-  
signes.

Other wayes  
of taking  
*God's* name  
in uayne, be-  
sides y<sup>e</sup>  
“dammees”  
and “*God's*  
Curse” of y<sup>e</sup>  
*Cavaleeres*.



*True and faythfull Relationn*

thee, and thy latter dayes be brought into dif-comforte. Seruing y<sup>e</sup> *Lorde* in truth, lett thy seruice be alwaye cleare in worde, and acte al-foe; giuing an enfample of plaine dealing and plaine fpeakinge, in like forte, to them that followe thee. Praye hartilye for “*God* with us,” and reere y<sup>e</sup> bannere whereonn it is writt before y<sup>e</sup> people. But make not His gyftes and grace an argument of boasting Vanitye among them, nor of Jefte among our enemyes. Agayne pardon me, good Cofen.”

Colonel  
*Cromwel*  
fpeaketh.

*Cromwel.* “Well preached, *Jack*. And now, I praye thee, fee, in fewe wordes, which in dede doe fuite me beft, (for I haue not y<sup>e</sup> gyfte to drefse upp doctrynes in theyre beft apparell,) fee what that would leade to which thou doft aduife; and where perchance all at y<sup>e</sup> table with Us play not fayre. This, and noe leffe. To fhewe y<sup>e</sup> inmoſte counfells and ſecreteſt endes, conceaued for y<sup>e</sup> publique good within our hartes, to all men, (the more pretious ſtill

Make not  
your cards  
maniſeſt unto  
y<sup>e</sup> aduerſarye.

y<sup>e</sup>



y<sup>e</sup> stake we doe contende for, y<sup>e</sup> more openlie,) and to him who playes y<sup>e</sup> wager out agaynst Us crying “ Aboue boarde I, and noe dissimulationn,” whilst he flipps y<sup>e</sup> cards, and cogges y<sup>e</sup> dice. Soe should’st thou be a hopefull gamester. Noe, *Jack*, I warrant thee, thou would’st not be that bubble. Nor art thou. Albeit thy Speech, nowe made, be full of unctiounn, and truelye leaueth not easie holde for anie *Jacob* to wrestle with.”

Specialle not unto y<sup>e</sup> cogging sharper.

*Hampden.* “ If by Dissimulationn thou dost understande in dede referue, or a cloking of meanes not fitt for common canuasse or handling of all menn, I grant thee. Such is but to shunn y<sup>e</sup> uncovering of the nakednesse, thou should’st respecte, of secrete Truth before y<sup>e</sup> prying gaze of all scoffers; of all y<sup>e</sup> vulgar, and all y<sup>e</sup> designing. Such Dissimulationn should be used, as onelie to auoyd impertinence, and in league still with honestye, as with discretiounn; Simulationn neuer; by the which, in dede, a man may

Colonell *Hampden* speaketh.

Simulationn and Dissimulationn plainlye and worthilye distinguished.

## *True and faythfull Relationn*

may thinke to serue his countreye, but a true man would not choose to saue her. For, foe, would he lose himselfe. These be practises begotten of Tyrannye on Feare. Name but y<sup>e</sup> parents, and, sure, y<sup>e</sup> offspring neuer can be entertayned by those who haue stripped off y<sup>e</sup> bondsman's cloke, to wrestle in y<sup>e</sup> Athletick Garb for Libertye."

Colonell  
*Cromwel*  
speaketh.

*Cromwel.* "Verilye, Cosen, thy wordes doe refreshe y<sup>e</sup> eare, euen as y<sup>e</sup> dewe on y<sup>e</sup> drye herbe. But yet resolue me this; as thirsting for y<sup>e</sup> water brookes of knowledg, that cometh of Truth. I doe remember, *Jack*, that, once, thou did'st discourse, to our much edificationn, when y<sup>e</sup> five were brought in questionn, at Westminster; touching y<sup>e</sup> difference betwene a good subiecte and a badd. Somewhat in this sorte, then, we heard. That *to denye lawfull obedience to a King, in his owne personn, and his commandes in Priuie Council, or to denye to defende his Royall Priuiledge and Prerogatiue,* (with

Twitteth  
Master *Hamp-*  
*den* with y<sup>e</sup>  
remembrance  
of his discrete  
and learned  
speech on y<sup>e</sup>  
case of y<sup>e</sup>  
Five Mem-  
bers, 1641.  
Imprinted for



(with some more to y<sup>e</sup> like effecte,) *is a signe of a badd subiecte.* How is this? Had not y<sup>e</sup> King, I praye thee, commanded, (ay, and in Priuie Counsell too,) the leauie of y<sup>e</sup> Shippe Moneye? Nay, afterwarde, did he not clayme, of anciente priuiledge and prerogatiue, to dissolue his *Parliaments* at pleasure, and require y<sup>e</sup> sole commandement of y<sup>e</sup> Armie, as a garde, not onelie to himselfe, but *Parliament*? Again, was it y<sup>e</sup> King's pleasure to annull y<sup>e</sup> powers of Conuocationn, or Starre Chamber, or High Commissionn Courte, or to dischardge his Peeres Spirituall frō y<sup>e</sup> upper House, sitting there as of anciente right? And, last, did he withholde his inhibitionn frō y<sup>e</sup> ordinance for rayfing y<sup>e</sup> militia of y<sup>e</sup> Countyes, or his proclaiming of thee, and me, and euerie Roundhedd of Us all, nowe at y<sup>s</sup> worke, as traytours therefor to his personn and gouernment? Thou art a good subiecte and a true, *John Hampden.* Yett resolue me these things, I praye, and how they doe fadge with thy definitionn thenn layd downe. Was  
it

*F. Coules and  
J. B. at y<sup>e</sup>  
Fighting  
Cockes.  
Quod Vide.*

*And question-  
neth him as  
to y<sup>e</sup> accord-  
ance of his  
actionns  
therewith.*



it but a beseeming cloke for y<sup>e</sup> nakednesse of those good purposes thereafter more openlie declared in y<sup>e</sup> Bishopp's Bill, y<sup>e</sup> Roote and Branche, y<sup>e</sup> Great Remonstrance, y<sup>e</sup> Nineteen Propositionns, and y<sup>e</sup> mustering of y<sup>e</sup> quotas of three Countyes uponn *Chalgraue* field? I am thy fuitore for a warrantye to make this, thy foregone doctrine, (for simulationn thou dost in euerie case eschew,) jumpe with thy later, of righteous disobedience towarde gouernours."

Colonell  
*Hampden*  
speaketh.

*Hampden.* "Disobedience to Gouvernours, good cosen, is noe worde of mine; noe, nor acte neither, as I do beleiue. The Gouvernemente of this Lande, in my poore judgements, doth consiste of *King* and *Parliament*. And soe haue I sayd, and neuer otherwise. And, sure, you will not conceaue it arrogance in me, if, when you doe so farr honnoure me as to recalle things deliuered, not inconsideratelye, by me, I would wishe them recalled in noe other termes but those in which indede they felle frō mee;

Entreateth  
that his  
wordes be  
whollye re-  
called, if at  
all.

mee; and not omitting some which, when I uttered them, I deemed to be of some momente. Remember, praye, I added alwaye y<sup>e</sup> worde "lawfull," to qualifie "submissiōn to commandes;" with these allsoe; *good affectionn to y<sup>e</sup> safetie, and iuste rightes of y<sup>e</sup> people, according to y<sup>e</sup> ancienne and fundamentall lawes of y<sup>e</sup> realme, and with y<sup>e</sup> free consente of y<sup>e</sup> Greate Counsell of y<sup>e</sup> State, assembled in Parliament.* I doe, allsoe, remember, at y<sup>e</sup> same time, to haue sayd, as in dede I yett would saye, (howeuer contrarious haue bin y<sup>e</sup> late passages of this war, or maye be those to come, to Us,) *To denye obedience to a King, commanding anie thing agaynst God's true worshipp and religionn, or agaynst y<sup>e</sup> ancienne and fundamentall lawes of y<sup>e</sup> lande, in endeauouring to performe y<sup>e</sup> same, is y<sup>e</sup> dutye of a good subiecte.* Nor can I see anie simulationn, noe nor euen dissembled purpose, in these doctrines, if I, neuerthelesse, withstande y<sup>e</sup> leaue of an unlawfull taxe; or, afterwarde, (uppon y<sup>e</sup> instant perill of a dissolutionn penallye to

"Obedience" quallified by y<sup>e</sup> worde "lawfull."

Allsoe "affectionn to y<sup>e</sup> iust rightes of y<sup>e</sup> people," &c.

Allsoe when to be refitted.

Iustifieth y<sup>e</sup> conformatie of his actes with y<sup>e</sup> sayd speech.



Which y<sup>e</sup>  
aggressoure,  
King or Par-  
liament?

All vindica-  
tionn resteth  
hereonn.

to be enforced as on manie former occasionns with intente to rayse supplyes contrarye to lawe,) doe giue my vote for declaring y<sup>e</sup> presente *parliament* indissoluble saue with its owne consente. Which of y<sup>e</sup> twain it was, His Majestie or *Parliament*, that firste begann y<sup>e</sup> struggle of Priuiledg, or which to mayntaine y<sup>e</sup> fundamentall lawes of y<sup>e</sup> lande, posteritie shall judge; for, of necessitye, onn this must reste all vindicationn of y<sup>e</sup> posture wherein now we stande. In like manner doe I justifie y<sup>e</sup> clayming of y<sup>e</sup> militia to *Parliament* as a garde to y<sup>e</sup> same, when *Digbye* and *Lunnsforde* were at the doores under y<sup>e</sup> *King's* Commissionn, with prætexte in dede to garde, but with purpose, as We knowe, to bring Us under duresse. I praye you, witnesse for me, Cosen *Oliuer*, in all oure communings together, I neuer spake as an ill wisher to y<sup>e</sup> *King*, or in rebellionn to his just and lawefull authoritye. I wishe him well ridd of his euill counsellours; and, to y<sup>e</sup> laste, yea euen to extreamest force, (since force hath bin  
putt



putt uponn Us,) would striue to breake in peeces y<sup>e</sup> cuppe they haue rayfed to his lippes; that cuppe, of which they haue drenched themmselues to maddnesse, till, in their excessse, they haue well nighe ouerthrowne all righte, goode manners, and all lawe sett upp to be a fence of Libertye within this realme.

I neuer was agaynst y<sup>e</sup> Religionn establishedd in y<sup>s</sup> lande, *according to y<sup>e</sup> truth of God*, (for such were, I thinke, my wordes;) noe, notwithstanding your pleasante quiddetts touching *Bishopp's* Bill, and Root and Branche. In y<sup>e</sup> moste parte, I thinke it's doctrines good, and conformable to *God* his worde, in holie writt sett downe; albeit I cannot awaye with y<sup>e</sup> Pride and Worldlynesse of *Bishoppes*, and would putt them forth, by Lawe, from all secularr concernementes. I doe reiecte their "Jus Diuinum," and "et cætera Oath," and utterlye abhominat y<sup>e</sup> tenetts foe unscripturally urged before y<sup>e</sup> late *King James*, in thatt fadd conference at *Hampton Courte*, and  
in

Yea. They were.

Churche in y<sup>s</sup> lande establishedd.

Good, as far as doctrinall, for y<sup>e</sup> moste parte.

Butt *Bishoppes* to be curbed.

"Jus Diuinum," and "et cætera oath."

The fathers  
haue eaten  
soure grapes,  
and y<sup>e</sup> chil-  
dren's teeth  
are sett onn  
edg.

Monarchie  
made for y<sup>e</sup>  
comon-  
wealthe; not  
y<sup>e</sup> comon-  
wealthe for it.

Hopefull and  
comfortable  
wordes of  
*Englande*, as  
she maye one  
daye be. And  
soe I praye.

in which His Majestie, that now is, hath bin, to his greate prejudice, brought upp. Herein I was with y<sup>e</sup> good *Falklande*, (now in this war unhappilye agaynst Us,) and with more circumspecte, but lesse uprighte, *Hyde*.

I reuerence y<sup>e</sup> office of *King* in *Englande*. I beleieve it not to be aniewhere enjoyed by commande of *God*, nor yett embued, as Bishopp *Neile* did once ungodlilye declare, "with some sparkles of his diuinitie;" but to be a worthy engine, notwithstanding, for good gouernement; like euerye good engine, profitable onelie when worthilye administered, and within y<sup>e</sup> fure safeguarde of acknowledged lawe. Such Monarchie it was oure *Saxonn* Ancestours establisshed within this *Islande*. Such are we bounden to preferue it; aye, and conformablye too, as changes and requirements of Time in its progresse shall demande. And such I hope that after ages in this lande maye see it, much amended in it's anciente purpose stil; and fitting itselfe well and gentlye for y<sup>e</sup> weale of a  
people



*of a worthy discourse, &c.*

people who shall be stronger in that knowledg which cometh of healthie experience than we be. Such hope haue I and cheerfull confidence in things to come; wherein I sometimes figure forth to myselfe this oure *Englande* as she shall, one daye, be. These things, in fine, which I haue layd before you, are what did, furthermore, moſte fullye iuſtifie y<sup>e</sup> publiſhing of y<sup>e</sup> Ordinance, and muſtering, as thou ſayeſt, of y<sup>e</sup> quotas of three Countyes, onn *Chalgraue*, where y<sup>e</sup> Sunn is now ſetting, there, belowe *Bledlowe Ridge*. And, euen thenn, I did inwardlye acknowledge that worke to be ſoe righteous, as y<sup>e</sup> thoughte hath often ſince bin preſente with me, *Oliuer*, that noe where could a mann beare more ioyefull teſtimonie to it, if neede were, with his bloude, than onn that verie grounde where firſte he did engage himſelfe therein.

Nor am I withoute reſpecte perſonall towarde his Maieſtie. Braue he is; and pious; of good partes of learning; aye, and ſtored with all quallities that beſt become a gentleman; if  
we

A propheticall  
thought;e;  
ſoone, alacke,  
and ſaddlye  
fullfilled.



His Ma<sup>tie</sup>  
verie forelie  
distempered  
with King  
crafte.

we excepte, indede, (as, unhappilye weemuste,) what should be euer foremoste in true gentillitie; trusteworthynesse, and uprighte dealing.

This wante hath euer bin a fore hindrance to him; and, thrō him, to all whose dutye and good affectionns might moste aduantage him. Kinge-crafte is a sorrie staffe, commended to him by an unworthy father. A broken reede it is; one daye to shrewdlye pierce y<sup>e</sup> poore hande that leaneth onn it. His arbitrarye stubbornesse is not that which moste I reprehend; althō to be opposed. His distaste shewne towarde free *Parliaments*; his calling of them but as purueyors to the cupiditie and waste of worthlesse seruantes, at y<sup>e</sup> poore people's coste, by undue Aydes, and, falselye termed, Beneuolences; his wrathfull bickerings with those *Parliaments* when mett; scattering them agayne with y<sup>e</sup> breth of his mouth, when they spake of griuances to be redressed; his gouerning withoute *Parliaments*, and agaynst Lawe; his imprisonnments, "per ipsum Regem," of those  
he

he was pleased to deem but as stumbling blockes in the pathe of his proceedings with his *Parliaments*; nay his leauie of y<sup>e</sup> Shippe Moneye, allbeit onn y<sup>s</sup> verie grounde onn which we stande I did resiste it, and soe would doe agayne; nay euen his intemperate and lawlesse entering of y<sup>e</sup> *House of Commons*, with his *Germann* Cosen in harnesse by his side, and y<sup>e</sup> armed rabble of *Lunnsforde* at his heeles; euen these thinges, thō intollerable, are not what haue brought Us to y<sup>e</sup> presente issue with him. Had he kept fayth, or shewne desyre to keepe it; such fayth as euen from an enemye sholde passe with menn for safe conducte thrō y<sup>e</sup> worlde; nay, (for heere was y<sup>e</sup> worst,) had he not entered into treatyes of solemne engagement with Us, on diuers occasionns, as maye abundantlye be shewne, with alreadye formed purpose to undoe us thrō our truste in themm, we had neuer bin forced to this sadd arbitrement of armes. Witnesse his assente to y<sup>e</sup> Greate Petitionn of Righte, freely proffered  
and

*King not  
trustewor-  
thy.*



*True and faythfull Relationn*

and accepted, soone to be left upponn oure Journalls, but as a monument of uayne reliance, openlye and moste dishonouringly betrayed; whenn professing peace onn his integritie and Royall oath in pledge to Us, his seizing upponn y<sup>e</sup> garrisons held in stipulationn for Us, and sending of Commissioners to laye handes upponn y<sup>e</sup> powder of y<sup>e</sup> Countyes; his assurance giuen of abyding neere his *Parliament* for accomodationn, but to gayne occasionn to flee to *Yorke*, to calle together a junto of seceeding members, soone to be called by y<sup>e</sup> name of a *Parliament*, antagoniste to that which he had confirmed by statute at *Westminster*, and beconn thither his runnawaye *Lorde Keeper*, with y<sup>e</sup> greate seale to be affixed to Actes hauing noe forme or semblance of Lawe; and, lastlye, proclayming as Traytors those whom he had, at fundrie times, inuited to treatye, he rayses his standarde, under which, diuided agaynst itselfe, one parte of y<sup>e</sup> Supreme Power of y<sup>e</sup> realme doth drawe y<sup>e</sup> sworde upponn y<sup>e</sup> other.

Alacke



Alacke for y<sup>e</sup> streights into which such practises haue driuen Us, whenn y<sup>e</sup> worde of a *Prince* cann noe longer suffice as hostage for his actes, and noe safetie remayneth, til his children, and all he hath, be placed in oure handes. Free truste, *Cromwel*, unchecked, is as a fayre streame, running a smooth course ouer manie thinges rough and contrarious, which stil, left farr beneath, breake not nor soyle it; but, estopped and stifled upp, it turneth backward, (stayned much with y<sup>e</sup> hue of what hath bin rudelye caste in it's waye,) to drowne y<sup>e</sup> fountaine hedd.

Naye, warr ittselfe he hath not waged as one who, with hope finallye to staunche y<sup>e</sup> wounde, will saythfullye keepe termes of temporarye truce, admitted for propofalls of Peace. Witnesse his aduance uponn our weakened postes at *Brainforde*, during a cessation and treatye, agreed to with all formallities by himselfe."

Attack onn  
*Brainforde*,  
during a cessa-  
tionn.

*Cromwel*. "Ay, cosen, meethoughte you were a tending thitherwarde. That morning's draught  
of

Colonell  
*Cromwel*  
speaketh.

*True and faythfull Relationn*

of *Thames* water was of unfauorie taste, and not a little bitter of remembrance, I war-rante, to those foe constryained to learne y<sup>e</sup> true worth of y<sup>e</sup> Kinglye worde they helde in pawne."

Colonell  
*Hampden*  
speaketh.

*Hampden*. "I tasted it not, Colonell *Cromwel*. If I had, as did in dede manye a braue souldier onn that daye, your poore cofen and seruante hadd, in all likelyhood, not nowe bin at your fide, to trouble you with this discourse. Noe; we were in jeopardye; and manie forced by y<sup>e</sup> fworde into y<sup>e</sup> fedges and y<sup>e</sup> water, there todrowne. But yett none fled, cofen. We stode itt out, by *God's* helpe, and, with much adoe, made it good, (*Hollis* and we,) until oure frendes frō *London* came to oure releife. Nor were we left foe scante of breth, by choking duste, and blaste of artillerie, (and *Thames* water too, since you will haue it foe,) but we coulde yett followe y<sup>e</sup> enemye a pretty space thrō *Kingstonn*, and sing a psalme of joye, with thanksgiuing, when

y<sup>e</sup>

of whom were  
Serjeant  
Major  
*Quarles*, and  
Captaine  
*Lacye*, and  
manie poore  
Souldiers of  
y<sup>e</sup> meaner  
sorte.



y<sup>e</sup> deliuerance was assured, and y<sup>e</sup> daye oure owne.”

*Cromwel.* “Nowe pardonn mee. I haue offended; and knowingelye. In verie truth I did but dallye with you. You spake a good worde in that you sayd y<sup>e</sup> fadd inconstancye of that weake Vessell, *Charles*, (fayling y<sup>e</sup> destructionn he doth intende,) is like to worke his owne. In this lyeth y<sup>e</sup> verie marrowe of oure strengthe; which yett, if rudelye touched, wolde bring a palsey, whereinwardlye it doth nowe inuigourate and nourrishe all oure motionns. I thanke y<sup>e</sup> *Lorde*, we cann noe longer treat with him; euen if we wolde. To whattfoeuer termes we nowe might bring him, euen grante him vanquishedd, securitye there is none for Us. Knowe ye not y<sup>e</sup> saying of y<sup>e</sup> wise man? “Woe to him that lendeth his eare to y<sup>e</sup> euill one, or stretcheth out his hande to y<sup>e</sup> tempter;” whoe doth proffer his good thinges, euer with this notable advantage; Treatye made, and controuersie ended,  
power

Colonell  
*Cromwel*  
speaketh.



Worthye say-  
ing of a *King*  
of *Sparta*.

power returneth to him. Soe he taketh backe all he granted; aye and y<sup>e</sup> mann, too, bodie and foule; to his undoing. Well was it sayd by y<sup>e</sup> *Spartann King* to him of *Persia*, (Paganns both,) “Nowe, thanks to *Tiffaphernes*; for he hath placed y<sup>e</sup> *Gods* onn oure side.”

Thou hast taen to thyselfe a good mottoe, *Jack*. And well it fitts oure conditionn, nowe. “Noe steppe backwarde.” And this suffer me to adde, frō the *Psalmiste*, “Lett y<sup>e</sup> prayses of *God* be in oure mouthe; and in oure handes a two edged sworde.” Nowe, truelye, thou art a prudente mann, hauing a tongue of readye witt; aye, and a *God*-serving Christiann; and a stoute souldier, with a readye hande too, on occasionn; fighting alwaye in y<sup>e</sup> bondes of y<sup>e</sup> *Lorde*, and of His Grace. But, (let me stande excused nowe,) thou art somewhat ouermuch a booke man, *John Hampden*. Taking *God*’s worde, indede, for Doctrine. Good. They that doe soe shall neuer fayl. It is, of a truth, y<sup>e</sup> abuttresse of oure Temple. But you take your *Plato* for Policie,

Reprehendeth  
Colonell  
*Hampden*, as  
ouermuch a  
booke man.

Policie, and your *Dauila* as your *Vade Mecum* for y<sup>e</sup> condu<sup>t</sup>e of a war like this. And this, I doubte, shall ensue. After ye shall haue serued feuen yeare for y<sup>e</sup> *Rachel* of your hope, ye shall finde youre selfe, at y<sup>e</sup> ende, beguiled with a *Leab* you affecte not. It is, (still pardonn me,) a fande specke euer in your eye. Wipe it oute Mann. A nationn's worke was neuer well done twice in y<sup>e</sup> same waye. Truste to youre owne good brayn for meanes; and, for y<sup>e</sup> endes, looke not to what hath bin done aforetime. It muste be nowe after a fashionn of oure owne. Putt not thy good judgemente in thrall, noe, nor thy condu<sup>t</sup>e neyther, nor y<sup>e</sup> reuerende esteeme in which all men holde thee, to those of anie Comitte<sup>e</sup>, or of anie mann; be he a *Lorde Generall*; or what thou wilt. I speake of noe mann in particularr. Let him be *Præses*, not *Princeps*; *Dux*, not *Imperator*. And, peradventure, but a scurvy *Præses*, after all."

*Lorde Generall*, to be *Præses*, not *Princeps*.

*Hampden*. "Cofen, excuse me, praye, if I doe

Colonell *Hampden* speaketh.



Excuseth  
hymfelfe as a  
booke man.

doe interrupte you here. We spake of discipline, and obedience, in our hofte. Each mann to him whoe, by y<sup>e</sup> consentement of oure lawfull go-uernours, fhall be deemed worthye of authoritie. Let Us be euer firfte to giue enfample in ourfelues of what we doe enjoyn to others. But, in what fell frō you before, you doe conclude of me unjuftlye, Cofen; euen in your loue and zeale for me. Belieue mee, I reade not *Plato*, nor *Dauila*, nor euer did I, for instructionns in Policie or War; but y<sup>e</sup> one for a warning historye of euill times, in fome things like to thefe; times of euill machinationn, kinfmann, and of fadd violence, that did diftracte, and goe nighe to ruine, a mightye Comonwealthe, reftored by a mann y<sup>e</sup> like of whom, thō he had heinouffe and unpardonable faultes, (*Henrye of Nauarre*,) 'twere well if thefe our times hadd cafte upp to y<sup>e</sup> head of our affayres.

But enough of bookes. I haue loued them; and could loue them ftill; nay in my time haue payd fome court among y<sup>e</sup> playfullest of  
them



them all; haue basked in y<sup>e</sup> sunnshine of this once in dede my happye home, with much delighte, euen among y<sup>e</sup> fwete flowers of peacefull poesy; and, thō some are gone whoe made these things y<sup>e</sup> dearest to me, could doe soe agayn; accounting them among y<sup>e</sup> best remayning pleasures of a reasonable mann's repose. But, in this rough seasonn, Cosen, when y<sup>e</sup> windes be out, and tempests rageing rounde, what has a mann to doe but cast his anchor in y<sup>e</sup> strong holding grounde of dutye; and, (strikeing all his pleasant topp gear, and gawdyestreamers of delighte,) like y<sup>e</sup> gallant shippe, swing round to fronte both blaste of storme and streame of tide, now pouring in upon y<sup>e</sup> harbour of his reste and anciente righte? Noe. I buckled not on this breastplate as a reading garb for y<sup>e</sup> studye. *God* knoweth with how sore reluctancie I tooke it; but without sense of reproache. I beleiue I am not extreme of purpose. I yett despaire not (hauing better hope in this than thou hast, *Cromwel*,) to gayn suretye for y<sup>e</sup> free

*Pax quæritur  
Bello.*

free customes and prerogatiues which belong by statute to y<sup>e</sup> people of this realme. "*Pax quæritur Bello.*" Else, sure, we fighte withoute an ende. I knowe this; that I doe abhorr War; aboue all, "*summum nefas,*" ciuill War. And, sure, how faddlye doth it argue of y<sup>e</sup> fallen state of man that, throughoute y<sup>e</sup> high Catalogue of all y<sup>e</sup> greate and worthy which Historye doth giue, y<sup>e</sup> greater parte thereof hath bin furnished to her by Warr; to Historye, which is indede y<sup>e</sup> nurfing mother of all Ciuill Knowledge, by Warr, which is the mighty antagoniste and disturber thereof. It is y<sup>e</sup> greatest of calamities, euen when for Freedome; thō a glorious one. But, frō y<sup>e</sup> houre when noe securitye cann more be had for Freedome, saue what may arise to y<sup>e</sup> *Parliament* from succeffe in Armes, and be guarded their's by power manifeste; frō that houre noe retreate and noe remissionn. Putt forward, then, with that fiercenesse whereby this unnaturall contention may be soonest made to cease; and some noteable succeffe may, thrō *God his* blessing,

Striue to esta-  
blishe Peace,  
and lasting  
treatye, by  
succeffe.



sing, be wroughte, as may be guarrantye for lasting accomodationn. Nay more will I saye. I doe beleue there be certayne, euen of y<sup>e</sup> aduerse partye, who, frendes stil of Libertye, in harte, but scared at what they falselye deeme a takeing upp of armes agaynst y<sup>e</sup> King's personn, (for amongst y<sup>e</sup> greatest miseryes of such a Warr is euer this, that good menn may, by but a small bials in y<sup>e</sup> ballance of their duties, be brought in mortall conflicte, each with other,) haue entered onn y<sup>s</sup> tryall as fiercelye as we; out of which, (vayne expectationn,) they may hope themmselues to be instrumentes for y<sup>e</sup> winning of termes from him they follow, for better gouernement, according to Lawe. To Us remayneth but to recouer, if may be, the time we lost in trusting him whyle in his pride of power. To y<sup>e</sup> pointe thenn. It seemeth to me, (and here I doe agree with you,) muche time is stil ill spent in y<sup>e</sup> directing of a Warr by a comittees sitting at *Westminster*; thō worthe menn. To guide y<sup>e</sup> motionns of a warr, there is not wisedome in a  
multitude

Some, on y<sup>e</sup> aduerse partye, of a like notionn.

In y<sup>e</sup> multitude of counsellours, nōt wisedome, as



touching mat-  
ters of Warr.

multitude of counsellours. There must euer be one hedd, not manie; and that hedd too at distance of not manie houres frō y<sup>e</sup> thing maynlie and most instantly in hande. Here haue y<sup>e</sup> enemye a manifest aduantage ouer Us. Thenn are We not onelie cast among a diuersitie of opinionns, but into dealing not unfrequentlie with doubtfull and with doubted frendes; whose helpe, indede, might auayle Us much, but who might, in false play, worke y<sup>e</sup> utmost prejudice unto Us. It is not all now at this worke, Cosen, who haue entered onn it with y<sup>e</sup> selfe same minde; as touching Libertie of Conscience, and y<sup>e</sup> best meanes whereby to keepe it sure. Some speake Us fayre; yet in a double sence; whose endes be at cleane difference with our's; nay, I might say contrarious."

Colonell  
*Cromwel*  
speaketh.

*Cromwel.* "Ay, there thou hast it, mann; in y<sup>e</sup> verie cloute, at twelue score. Thou hast shott thy bolt aright; euen acrofs *Tweed* River. Nowe, a worde of those who be partlye with Us; partlye

lye agaynst. A worde, Cosen, of y<sup>e</sup> *Scotts*; of whom you spake erewhile. A power they be, in sooth, to deale with tenderlye; and little more trusteworthye thann the *Kings* they gaue Us. 'Twere a fond hope that they will striue to helpe Us, further thann may fitt their owne particularr designes; the which once gained, they will presentlye abandonn, nay, not unlike, oppose Us. Witnesse their earlye entertainment of y<sup>e</sup> *King's* propofalls, bare twelue months agoe to them, to moue that armie to his ayd which first was raysed agaynst him in y<sup>e</sup> *Bishopp's* Warr, and was at that time under treatye to disbande; whereof parte fought, after, onn his side, under *Lindsey*, *Stewart*, and *Aubigny*; parte with Us, under *Balfore*, and *Ramsay*; at *Edge Hille*. A wayward forte of cattel truly. Proud and stiffe necked are they, whenn aroused; resolute of actionn; dearlye mindfull of aduantage, as of wronge; and wearysome of purpose; readye alwaye, euen in their Pride and Stiffenesse, for such compliances

To his thinking, y<sup>e</sup> *Scotts* a waywarde cattel.

as



as may further it; and, in the verie appetite of falling onn to dinner, thoughtfull euer of whereonn they shall suppe.

Nor are their designs in this presente matter, (noe nor euer haue bin,) of a like temper or a kin to our's. Of an ouer flowing Zeale for y<sup>e</sup> freedom of their owne Church, and of such as be of a tender conscience therein; not carnall minded; but verie hierarchs in their disrelyshe of y<sup>e</sup> doctrine termed by them State Puritann; and curious and unrelenting to fitt y<sup>e</sup> limbes of all to y<sup>e</sup> *Procrustes'* bedd of their owne choice and fashionn. Tyrannie of Surplice or Tyrannie of Synod is, to my poore apprehensionn, y<sup>e</sup> onelie questionn at oddes, as regardeth Church Authoritie and Libertye of Worshipp, betwene themm and Formaliste or flatt Arminian.

For y<sup>e</sup> reste, truste themm not, if but a bushe or road side banke be betwene ye. *Montrose* was with Us; and *Balfore*. *Urrie* too. Where be they nowe? But these "*oure good Brethrenn,*"



renn," thou knowest themm, *John Hampden*; and, in thy commissions with themm, hast had good cause; euen better than I; and hast, I warrante, noe verie different judgement. And, before long, Young *Vane*, wary and stedfaste thō he be of purpose, shall knowe themm better thann now he doth. And truelye that nationn shall, (if y<sup>e</sup> *Lorde* but prosper y<sup>e</sup> worke on foote there,) be a gaynfull helpmate to Us; for a space.

I babble of these things, and, peradventure all too freelye, to Thee. But manie thinges there be, both ciuill and ecclesiasticall, that doe lack uentillationn; or, like an old rayment lying too long in y<sup>e</sup> foldes, they shall be found maruellous thredd bare and unfauourie, whenn brought to use. Now he were but a scurvye publiciste who, hungrye after formes, would bring y<sup>e</sup> substance into jeopardye, and, belike, euen as y<sup>e</sup> dogge of *Æsopus*, in y<sup>e</sup> ende, lose both.

And why saye I this, and wander unto mat-  
ters

Speaketh  
doubtfullye of  
*Parliaments.*

ters wide of that which preffeth? I knowe not. Often in verie openneffe with Thee I commune, as it were with myfelfe, aloude, onn fuch thoughts as oftentimes I ponder, yea with much difquiett, in y<sup>e</sup> night feafonn. What fhall we doe but feek y<sup>e</sup> *Lorde* in all things? As Thou haft truely phrazed it, *Jobn*, one hedd there muft be, not manie. And what is *Parliament* itfelfe; the hedd of all, what is it now, I pray ye, but a forme; which, (rayfed, by y<sup>e</sup> arm of flefhe, moft worthilye, and foe upheld,) thofe who foe rayfed and doe uphold it, (according to the Spiritt which is from aboue, and by generall consentment of honefte and godlie menn venturing their liues in defence thereof,) haue power, in all righteoufneffe, if for y<sup>e</sup> Comonwealth's aduantage, to bring into difeafance? Yea, euen as y<sup>e</sup> chofen of *Israel*, ftanding in y<sup>e</sup> ftrengethe and feare of y<sup>e</sup> *Lorde*, did putt forth euill menn, that they might noe more rule ouer y<sup>e</sup> fame. We be, in this, as in all things, but as young Childrenn; arrowes in y<sup>e</sup> hande of y<sup>e</sup> Giant;



Giant; yea as y<sup>e</sup> strong mann's bowe; buxome onelie to y<sup>e</sup> purposes of y<sup>e</sup> Commonwealthe; whose seruantes in dede we be; and none other's."

*Hampden.* Seruantes of y<sup>e</sup> Commonwealthe onelie; and *Parliaments* but a forme? Go to, nowe. This is but to try my foolishnesse. Nay, thou must beare with me; and pardonn y<sup>e</sup> freedom of him who loues you, (and none knoweth it better thann thou dost, Cosen *Oliuer*.) As I haue euer considered it, we entered not onn these high matters as seruantes of a Commonwealthe; but as striuing to walke in y<sup>e</sup> wayes of Justice and free Truth; and, if it be granted to Us, by furthering *God's* worke among his people, to serue, I grante ye, y<sup>e</sup> Commonwealthe in y<sup>e</sup> second degree; but, thro *God*, for his Truth, firste; for Justice, and Liberty's and Conscience' sake. And where, I pray you, Kinsmann, where, after our inwarde conscioufnesse of *God's* Truth, which is aboue all, where cann we soe well seeke directionn in applying it unto y<sup>e</sup> publique seruice

Colonell  
*Hampden*  
speaketh.

Not seruantes  
of a Common  
wealthe; but  
of *God* in his  
worke.



What are  
*Parliaments?*

uice as under y<sup>e</sup> controul of a *Parliament*, free-lye chosen by y<sup>e</sup> people to adminifter that truste? What are *Parliaments*? Summoned they were, in their originall, by y<sup>e</sup> *King's* writt, onelie that they might render y<sup>e</sup> taillage, and other imposts granted unto him, as it were a free acte of y<sup>e</sup> Nationn, and, foe, more popularr and easie of leauie. But they did come, after a time, and by manie steppes, to be a reall safeguarde to the Nationn, to impose their counsell and controul upon him as conditionns before y<sup>e</sup> granting of y<sup>e</sup> same; stablishing thus a systeme of priuiledge, to hedge round other publique rightes alsoe, farr dearer thann those of moneye, since become undoubted; the which noe power can fittlye be trusted to maintaine, saue onelie that whose feede and produce they truelie are; euen y<sup>e</sup> power of an assemblie chosen freelye of y<sup>e</sup> people; without which there is noe Lawe.

Judges make not Lawe; nor doth y<sup>e</sup> Lawe live and breathe in them alone. For they may  
be

be corrupte or arbitrarye. Juries make it not; nor doth it live and breathe in them alone. For they may be swayed by prætecte of authoritie, or curbed by tyrannye of office. Armies; *God* forbidd they ever should be makers or indoctrinators thereof; or other than it's bounden subjectes; or that they should houlde their verie being on anie other thann<sup>e</sup> will and voice of *Parliament*. For, foe, should y<sup>e</sup> last state be worse than y<sup>e</sup> firste. A falselye termed Democracie; ruled by successe of one Mann's craft and boldnesse; or, more intollerable stil, by ungouerned violence of manie. Calle not then, I beseech you, *Parliament* a forme.

Reprehendeth  
Master *Crom-  
wel*, in that he  
called *Parlia-  
ments* a forme.

And what is a Commonwealthe? Resolue me. It is y<sup>e</sup> weale, You may tell me, and truelye, of that Nationn whereof We are. Yett You doe, herein, but postpone y<sup>e</sup> pinche and shrewd stresse of y<sup>e</sup> questionn; meanwhile traueilling rounde, as y<sup>e</sup> schoolmen say, in a circle. What is y<sup>e</sup> weale? *Aristoteles* of *Stagyra* sayd, and truelye, Happinesse is the Weale. But, methinkes,

What is a  
Common-  
wealthe?



thinkes, he hardlye escaped frō y<sup>e</sup> circle, *idem per idem*, in bringing this under definitionn. “An Energye of y<sup>e</sup> minde,” sayd he, “in accordance to Virtue; and within such limitts as a wise mann shall impose.” Manie wordes; and applicable to what systeme a mann will. Some haue sayd, “The greatest welfare of y<sup>e</sup> greatest number.” Yet suffer mee to pause before I giue this my entire consentement. The greatest number will be found to be the most at odds in this. The Moralist shall finde this greatest welfare in a Sense of Righte. The Philosopher in that of Knowledg. The Covetous, or Ambitious, in Riches, or in Power. The poore Hindes, and that Handycrafte sorte, (such as surround Us onn these hilles, and whom *God* forbid I should call y<sup>e</sup> baser sorte, for they are y<sup>e</sup> greater parte of my fellowe menn,) would finde it in Plentye and Ease. But, surelye, to shorten such dispute of termes, that maye well be called y<sup>e</sup> Comōnweale that bindeth together both good and badd, wise and foolishhe, in such  
a bond



a bond as shall be for y<sup>e</sup> contentment of good menn, and encouragement of prudent; for y<sup>e</sup> restrayning of badd, and directing of foolish ones.

Such a systeme We muste endeavour for. And where, I repeate, shall We better hope to finde it secured thann in the inqueste of a free *Parliament*? But who are y<sup>e</sup> good and prudent, to be thus aduantaged, Cosen *Oliuer*? Are they y<sup>e</sup> major parte of those for whose weale We haue toyled, and are nowe in Armes? I hope, ay hartilye, y<sup>e</sup> issue may proue it foe.

Meanwhile, serue a higher Master thann a Commonwealthe, good kinsman. Nay, I belieue Thou dost, in harte. Putt onny<sup>e</sup> Armour of His Truth, after much seeking. Striue to stablishe His glorye, His Worde, His Seruice “whose seruice is perfect freedome.” If We cannot preuail in it, let Us alwaye be readye to die for it; and in our liues, and at our deaths, as better menn in tryalls more fierye haue bin found to doe before Us, kindle a torche of light for future  
ages.

Marke this  
well.

ages. Peace, if peace may be with Libertye; But, in all euent, Libertye. Both to be, under God, best secured, as my belief is, by free Priuiledg and Power of *Parliaments*. The which there neuer would come a time, as I truste, when You or I would not defend, euen unto bloude, from anie mann who would giue it ouer to y<sup>e</sup> dominionn of an armie, bound in oathe and dutye to defend it, and being, if engaged any otherwise than under it's controul, a band but of armed outlawes, and it's cheife a traytoure. Thinke then but of one thing now; y<sup>e</sup> generall safetie, which hangeth on this cause; and how best to ensue it, by y<sup>e</sup> best unionn and discipline. Pursue this with vigoure; and manfullye. In this, as I doe beleue in all oure endes, we haue bin of a like Counsell together. Noe delaye of what is in hande. And this verie agreement doth reminde Us that, for a while, Wee now should parte. Houlde it not want of hospitalitie in me to say foe onn mine own ground. In better times We maye meet here agayne. I hope  
we

we may. But y<sup>e</sup> time preffeth; and y<sup>e</sup> setting  
funn hath foe aduised me. I must vifitt y<sup>e</sup>  
quarters about *Tetfworth* and *Stoken-church*,  
farr hence, to-night; and, in y<sup>e</sup> morninge, at-  
tende onn y<sup>e</sup> *Lorde Generall* at *Thame*. You  
are for y<sup>e</sup> North. I see our horses comming  
hitherwarde, and at hande.”

And foe, in dede, they parted; to meet  
agayne; but in another Worlde;  
where all menn's motiues  
shall be knowne.



FINIS.





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